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SUBJ: HIGHLIGHT: POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS

MARCH 18, 1975 (SALT TWO-569)

- 1. VERIFICATION: BROWN (WITH MAY TO SHCHUKIN, A-769) SAID THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL REASON FOR THE US PROTOCOL WAS THE NEED FOR CONFIDENCE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT WERE BEING OBSERVED. SHCHUKIN SAID THAT SUCH CONFIDENCE WAS NEEDED ON BOTH SIDES, BUT THE METHODS OF OBTAINING THAT CONFIDENCE WERE NOT NECESSARILY THE SAME. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN ASKED BY HIS AUTHORITIES, AND HAD GIVEN THEM HIS OPINION THAT THE SOVIET SIDE COULD VERIFY THE PROVISIONS OF THEIR PROPOSED AGREEMENT THROUGH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.
- 2. LATER IN THE SAME CONVERSATION, SHCHUKIN SAID THAT THE US PROTOCOL WAS UNFAIR BECAUSE ANY SMALL CHANGE IN A SILO WOULD RESULT IN ITS CONTENTS BEING COUNTED AS MIRVED. MAY NOTED THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THE US PROTOCOL SAYS THAT THE CONTENTS ARE TO BE COUNTED AS MIRVED ONLY IF THE CONVERSION HAS BEEN SUCH AS TO PERMIT DEPLOYMENT ON THAT LAUNCHER OF A MIRVED MISSILE. SHCHUKIN ADDED THAT THE U.S. PROTOCOL WAS AT SECRET

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THE SAME TIME EFFICIENT BECAUSE IN THE FUTURE IT MAY BE POSSIBLE

TO PUT IN A NEW MISSILE, CONTAINING MIRVS, WITHOUT CHANGING THE SILO. BROWN REPLIED THAT SOME INFORMATION ON THIS COULD BE PROVIDED BY KNOWLEDGE OF WHETHER THE MISSILE INSERTED HAD BEEN TESTED IN A MIRVED FORM OR NOT. SHCHUKIN NOTED THAT THIS MEANT THAT THE US PRESUMABLY HAD WAYS OF TELLING WHICH MISSILE WAS PUT INTO SILO. BROWN SAID THAT IN SOME CASES THE US COULD TELL THAT. IN OTHER CASES, IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO TELL. EVEN IN HE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, IF A MISSILE HAD BEEN TESTED WITH AND WITHOUT MIRVS, WE HAD NO GOOD WAY TO TELL WHICH FORM WAS DEPLOYED.

3. SALTYKOV SPENT ABOUT 15 MINUTES CROSS-EXAMINING MENDELSOHN (A-7729 ON THE SIGNIFICENCE OF THE ADDITION OF THE WORD "TESTING" TO THE LIST OF PRACTICES CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 3, ARTICLE X OF THE U.S. DRAFT. MENDELSOHN PULLED OUT THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF THE U.S. STATEMENT. FINAGIN TRANSLATED IT OUT LOUD TO SALTYKOV TWICE. SALTYKOV CONTINUED TO PRESS ON WHY BALLISTIC MISSILE TESTING SHOULD NOW BE LISTED IN ARTICLE X AND HE INDICATED THAT THE ARGUMENT GIVEN IN THE U.S. STATEMENT-THAT VERIFICATION OF THE MIRV LIMITATIONS SHOULD NOT BE IMPEDEDWAS AN INSUFFICIENT CLARIFICATION OF THIS CHANGE. MENDELSOHN INQUIRED WHETHER THE SOVIET SIDE FELT THAT UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT CONCEALMENT ACTIVITIES COULD GO ON UNENCUMBERED AT TEST RANGES, BUT SALTYKOV DUCKED ANY RESPONSE.

4. CURRENT SOVIET POSITION: ROWNY (TO TRUSOV, A-770) SAID THAT IN LIGHT OF MINISTER SEMENOV'S LONG STATEMENT TODAY HE GUESSED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTION FROM MOSCOW ON OUR DRAFT. TRUSOV NODDED AND SMILED BUT DID NOT ANSWER DIRECTLY. TRUSOV SAID THAT NOW THAT THE DRAFTING AND WORKING GROUPS WERE BEGINNING TO WORK IN EARNEST, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE SOVIET POSITIONS ON THEIR DRAFT AND OURS BE MADE CLEAR IN PLENARY SESSIONS. HE SAID THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD ATTEMPT TO PROVE THAT IT WAS FOLLOWING CLOSELY THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDINGS AND PARTICULARLY THE AIDE-MEMOIRE. ROWNY TOLD TRUSOV THE U.S. STATEMENTS WERE DOING THE SAME AND THAT IN OUR VIEW THE U.S. DRAFT FOLLOWS THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDINGS AND AIDE-MEMOIRE MORE CLOSELY THAN THEIRS, BOT IN LETTER AND IN SPIRIT.

5. SILO RELOCATION AND MODIFICATION: WHEN ASKED SECRET

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WHETHER THE SOVIET SIDE SHARED THE U.S. UNDERSTANDING OF THE I.A. THAT THERE WOULD BE NO RELOCATION OF EXISTING SILO LAUNCHERS, SALTYKOV (TO MENDELSOHN, A-772) SAID HE BELIEVED THE SOVIET SIDE'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE I.A. PROVISION WAS THAT SUCH LAUNCHERS COULD NOT BE RELOCATED.

6. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIET SIDE UNDERSTOOD THE REASON FOR THE INSERTION OF THE WORD "ORIGINAL" IN THE U.S. DRAFT

PROVISION (ARTICLE V, PARA 3) CARRYING OVER THE I.A. AGREED INTERPRETATION ON SILO ENLARGEMENT, SALTYKOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD BE ADDRESSING THAT QUESTION IN THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, WHEN PRESSED AS TO HIS OWN VIEW, SALTYKOV SAID THE SOVIET SIDE AGREED THAT A SILO COULD BE INCREASED BY 15 PERCENT ONLY ONCE AFTER MAY, 1972.JOHNSON

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